

## DAMAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT

# Conflict Period and following Demolition of the Old city (SURİÇİ) of DIYARBAKIR

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“DIYARBAKIR FORTRESS AND HEVSEL GARDENS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE”

## Introduction

The Fortress of Diyarbakir and the Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape have maintained their importance for thousands of years because of its strategic location between the East and the West. The multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-layered character of the walled city, called Suriçi and today part of the Sur District, has woven many different cultures into its fabric. Diyarbakir has been the heart of many civilizations and the regional capital at the time of the Persian, Roman, Sassanian, Byzantine and Islamic empires. The old city has been designed in a way where the magic fortress, specific civil architecture and street fabric, religious buildings consisting of mosques, churches and synagogues, and other public buildings such as caravansaries and traditional baths can be observed and experienced as cultural assets in one settlement area. designated an Urban Conservation Area since 2012. UNESCO declared the City Walls and adjacent Hevsel Gardens a World Heritage Site in 2015, with the walled city being the buffer zone.

In Suriçi are located in total 595 registered cultural monuments, 147 of them are examples of monumental and 448 of civil architecture. The old city Suriçi including its fortress has been registered as the “Diyarbakir Urban Conservation Area” in 1988.

Suriçi consists of 15 neighborhoods and in 2015 it had a total population of 50.341.

The UNESCO World Heritage nomination process of the fortress and the Hevsel Gardens was launched in January of 2012. The Site Management Plan was prepared with an active democratic participation of all relevant institutions, organizations, NGOs, scientists and neighborhood mayors. As “Diyarbakir Fortress and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape” it was registered as a World Heritage Site at the 39th Session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in July 2015.

Only two months after the enlisting as World Heritage Site the regional armed conflict had grave impacts on Suriçi which is part of the buffer zone. In Suriçi totally five times curfews have been declared by the governor between beginning in September 2015 and lasting several days. Particularly the six neighborhoods Cevat Paşa, Dabanoğlu, Fatih Paşa, Hasırlı, Cemal Yılmaz ve Savaş have been affected by these 24 hour blockades through the security forces. The last and ongoing curfew dating on December 11, 2015 is valid for five neighborhoods. Armed skirmishes, curfew and blockades set up by special police forces and the gendarmerie, continued in five neighbourhoods, and were extended to the neighbourhoods of Ziya Gökalp, Süleyman Nazif, Abdaldede, Lalebey and Alipasha from 27 January 2016 to 03 February 2016. The Diyarbakir governor’s office declared on the 10 March 2016 that operations had come to an end. The governor of Diyarbakir declared the end of the operations in the affected area on March 10, 2016. But before the completion of the operations in February 2016 heavy equipment and bulldozers of state institutions have started with demolition in the area under curfew and the excavation of debris. A part of the debris has been dumped at a site of the Diyarbakir Dicle University and afterwards it has been covered with soil. This illegal action has been documented by the Environment Conversation Department of the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality on February 29, 2016 (see attachment 1). In an area registered as urban conservation site and buffer zone of a World Heritage Site demolition and excavation of debris have been executed without assessing the state of the operations and clashes, without obtaining permission from the responsible Diyarbakir Region Conservation Board of Cultural Assets. The necessary permissions for the removal of the excavation were taken out only about a month later. The Conservation Board of Cultural Assets has stated in its decision with the no. 3873, dated 23 March 2016, that “the removal of debris obstructing streetways may be allowed under the supervision of the experts of the museum directorate; if debris from partially of completely destroyed registered buildings is encountered, then all significant construction elements should be kept at the original site in a proper way, under the supervision of the museum experts, for later assessment.” (Attachment 1) An aerial photograph taken and handed by a citizen on April 4, 2016,

and two satellite images commissioned by the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality on May 10 and August 16, 2016, it could be determined obviously that this decision has not been followed by the state institutions in the affected area. Hundreds of buildings have been destroyed, roads have been broadened, areas have been erased and squares created and schools have been turned into police/military posts. The wide roads now connect these police/military posts. By conducting the demolition under the observation of the local personnel of the directorate of the Ministry for Culture and Tourism it has been aimed to give a legitimate situation. The demolition actions, which have violated the Urban Conservation Plan and the World Heritage Site Management Plan, have been conducted without the permission of the responsible municipality, responsible for enforcing these plans, and the information of the Site Management.

Suriçi as an urban conservation site is object to the Law on the Conservation of Cultural Assets (No. 2863) and as part of the World Heritage Site under the conservation of international laws. For the destruction of any registered buildings, it is necessary that;

- 1) from the Conservation Board of Cultural Assets for each monument separately a decision is taken which states the immanent danger of collapse,
- 2) the technical personnel of the directorate for construction control at the relevant municipality prepare a report permitting the demolition of each individual building, which state a risk for life and propriety, according to the Article 39 of the Law on Zoning (Town Planning) numbered 3194.
- 3) after the documentation on the claimed risk of collapse the relevant commission of the city council approves the demolition.

However, for the demolished buildings in the blockaded neighborhoods, neither any technical assessment have been made nor any required permissions have been obtained from the Conservation Council for Cultural Assets and the relevant municipality. Today the actions and procedure continue which violate the national and international rules and regulations and lead to further destruction of the affected area. Without any design of surveys, restoration and restitution plans for the affected registered buildings, the remainings of qualitative building elements have been excavated with heavy equipment and dumped outside of Suriçi by personnel which have no expertise on this subject. Many photographs attest to this fact. The destruction by demolition of some monuments are illustrated in the photographs below:

### Hasırlı Cami (Mosque):



**Photo 1:** Hasırlı Cami (Mosque)



**Map 1:** Street location of Hasırlı Cami



**Photo 2:** Aerial photographs underline that the Hasırlı Mosque, located at parcel no. 235/19 has been completely destroyed and the debris removed, without a trace left in its place.

### **Armenian Catholic Church:**

The bell tower, south courtyard wall and pool in the courtyard have been destroyed completely and the main entrance door and church outbuilding located to the west of the church have been destroyed partly. Also a wide road through the area has been opened.



**Photo 3:** After the restoration in 2014



**Photo 4:** The destruction resulting from razing a road through the church; March 2016



**Photo 5:** the opened road through the area of the Armenian Catholic Church; May 16, 2016

**Novelist Mehmet Uzun's House:**

The registered civil architecture, projected to become the Mehmet Uzun Museum. Restoration process begun before the conflict but could not be completed. The roof has been destroyed and the carrying system has been damaged.



**Photo 6:** Restoration works before the demolition, 2015



**Photo 7:** Mehmet Uzun House, after demolition; May 10, 2016

**Chamber of Trade and Industry building:**

The southern part of the building of the Chamber of Trade and Industry has been demolished in order to widen the Yenikapi Street, which connects the center with the eastern gate Dicle.



**Photo 8:** View at the registered building belonging to the Chamber of Trade and Industry; May 2016



**Photo 9:** The Yenikapi street, with an original width of 8m before the demolition, has been turned into a 15 m wide street.



**Photo 10:** Excavators in the Yeni Kapı Street **Photo 11:** Destruction behind Kurşunlu Mosque, May 2016

After the period of armed conflict, the Site Management and the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality repeatedly applied to the Governor of Diyarbakir in order to get access and record the damage, however permission was denied on the grounds that the area was “not safe.”

As a result of the demolition, which is going on since February 2016 as of the writing of this report (August 1, 2016), Suriçi, buffer zone of the World Heritage Site and a Registered Urban Site has been turned into a bare flatland. (See Photos 18 and 19). It has been assessed that until at least July 2016 registered buildings have been destroyed completely. Many monuments listed into the Urban Conservation Plan of 2012, because of their addition to the urban fabric as constructions with environmental value, have been destroyed completely.

At the 17th plenary session of UNESCO in Paris between October 17 and November 21, 1972, it was noted that cultural heritage was not vulnerable only to natural and traditional causes of depreciation, but that changes in social and economic conditions could give rise to much more threatening conditions of decay and destruction. Therefore it was decided that the member states should use their resources to the utmost in order to avoid this destruction and when necessary, seek financial, artistic, scientific and technical aid and cooperation. However, in the case of Suriçi, the state party has carried out demolition, excavation and debris removal with heavy equipment without even to undertake basic fact finding and technical and scientific assessment of the damage in the wake of the armed conflict. Thus the integrity, authenticity and identity of the historical and cultural fabric of the site has been irreparably damaged.

In order to make in situ assessment and recording of the damage, there are ways to collect the data without entering the area in question. Using drones or unmanned aerial vehicles, video recordings and laser scanning techniques as well as satellite images may be used to determine the nature and extent of the damage. Thus, reliable information could have been gathered without the removal of qualitative building elements from the area. In this way it could have been possible to decide whether certain buildings could be saved without tearing them down, and they could have been restored before all trace of them disappeared. In spite of this, inside the urban historical site, bulldozers and other heavy equipment have demolished registered monuments and other buildings, roads were built which do not existed in the Urban Conservation Plan of 2012, existing streets were broadened and the specific plan fabric of the city destroyed. With the excavations and debris removal which totally wiped out the traces of the buildings in five blockaded neighborhoods, this area has been erased completely, the original fabric, integrity and authenticity of the historical city has been altered irreversibly.

The satellite images from different dates and pictures taken by citizens in planes reveal the described destruction. The total area of Sur has 148 hectares, the blockaded neighborhoods make up 75 hectares.

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**Photo 12:** Satellite image, before conflict; 2015

**Photo 13:** view from commercial flight; April 2016

After the state operations demolitions were carried in areas with “security priority”. Schools were turned into police stations and roads erased to connect police stations



**Photo 14:** Satelliite image May 10 2016,

**Photo 17:** Satellite image, August 16, 2016.





**Photo 18:** Picture taken from a commercial flight; April 4, 2017



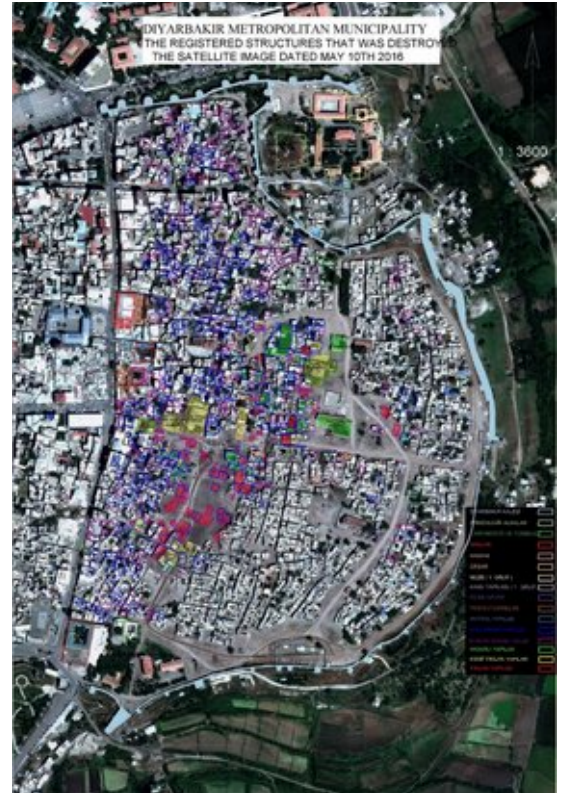
**Photo 19:** Inside the walled old city, erased and turned into a flatland; April 19, 2017

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**Photo 20:** Picture taken from a commercial flight; May 4, 2017

Total number of parcels of land in Sur is 7714. In the 6 blockaded neighbourhoods this number amounts to 3646. The parcels belonging to the demolished buildings were documented by superposition the cadastral maps with the satellite images. Satellite images from May 10, 2016 show that 10 hectares have been demolished, whereas in August 16, 2016 the destruction covers 20 hectares. After the seizing of the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality and Sur Municipality and appointing of an forced administrator, satellite images are not available but pictures were taken from commercial flights during landing or take off. (Photos 13 - 20).



**Maps 2 and 3:** Satellite picture. (left) Suriçi with marked destroyed area, and (right) marked locations of demolished registered or demolished environmentally significant buildings; May 10, 2016

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From the satellite image of August 16, 2016 it has been assessed that a total of 1519 buildings and other constructions have been destroyed completely, among them registered civil and monumental buildings. 89 registered monuments have been destroyed completely and 40 partially. 41 monuments have only been damaged. Of these registered structures 76 are of civil, 13 of monumental and 81 marked as environmentally significant buildings. These numbers are growing every day.



**Map 4:** Satellite image illustrating demolition in the old city. August 16, 2016

The destruction of historical Suriçi took place in two different periods. The first was the **period of armed conflict** lasting from 9 September 2015 to 10 March 2016, the second period is characterized by systematic **demolition and annihilation** started on March 10, 2016 after the stop of the state operations an still continues.

In the first stage heavy weapons, artillery, tanks, bombs and explosives were used. But the irreversible damage was inflicted in the second stage when demolition and excavations uprooted even the foundations of the buildings.

### **Forced displacement**

Starting from 9 September 2015, curfew has been declared in Suriçi six times with brief intervals, and the old city has been put under a total blockade. In this period the security forces have forced the residents to leave their houses. On December 10, 2015, the curfew was lifted for a several hours which resulted in the almost depopulating of the area. Ten thousands of people became refugees in their own city, without being supplied them with sheltering and other essential needs. The population of Sur, according to the 2015 census was 50.341. In the six neighborhoods, where armed clashes took place and a continuous curfew was declared, the population amounted to 22.323 people. This population has been evicted from their homes. In May 2016, the blockade was lifted completely in the Cevatpaşa and

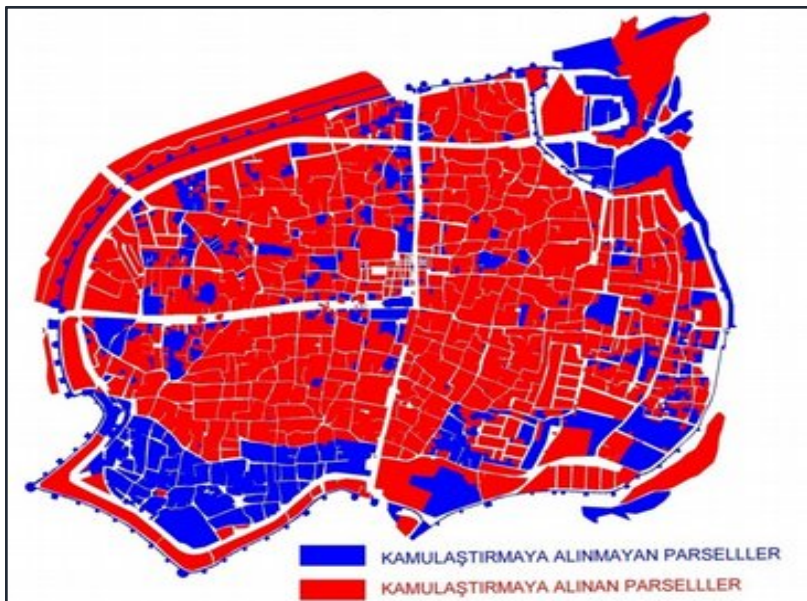
partly in the Abdaldede neighborhoods and the residents could return to their homes. The large part of the five other neighborhoods, where the blockade continues, has been turned into barren land as a result of the intended systematic demolition. This policy has both destroyed the civil constructions and monuments and interrupted the continuity of life in the eastern half of the old city.



**Photos 21 and 22:** Images of forced eviction from the blockaded quarters, December 10, 2015

### Decision on Expropriation

After the end of state operations, on 21 March 2016 the Council of Ministers took a decision on the expropriation of 6292 out of 7714 parcels in Suriçi based on the article 27 of the law on expropriation. By this decision, 82% of the parcels in Suriçi shall be expropriated by the Turkish government. A large part of the remaining 18% is in the possession of the Housing Development Administration TOKI and the Treasury, i.e. of the Turkish state. As a result, Suriçi will be entirely passed into public ownership. This also means that the residents of these five affected neighborhoods will most probably not be able to return.



**Map 5:** Map of the area to be expropriated. Red indicates the parcels marked for expropriation. Blue parcels that are not included

## Revision of the for Urban Conservation Plan

In 1988, Suriçi was registered as an Urban Conservation Site. As a necessity of national and International law, in 1990 the first Urban Conservation Plan has been designed and approved, and then revised in 2012. All stakeholders of the city have participated in this revision led by the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality. This work was based on the 1952 cadastral map sections. Conserved for hundred of years, the streets, insulas and parcels have not been altered and rather it designed within the authentic and specific fabric of Suriçi. With the cooperation of the Diyarbakir Museum Directorate, all the historical buildings in the area have been ascertained and inventory of the registered monuments updated. Furthermore, constructions considered as important for the old city were designated as “Constructions of contextual value” and included in the plan as construction to be conserved. This citizen-oriented conservation plan, prioritizing conservation theorem and regulations, became an important document in the UNESCO application procedure.

However, in the course of the demolitions continuing non-stop since March 2016, the Urban Conservation Plan has been revised by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in December 2016, without to consult the Diyarbakir Metropolitan or local Municipalities. This act follows based on high security priority the long expressed purpose to implement gentrification and commercialization in the historical site Suriçi. This new security minded urban conservation plan intends, in effect, to create legitimacy and legality for the demolitions in Suriçi which destroyed the authenticity and cultural fabric. The official reason for the revision has been stated as security. In this sense, schools have been turned into military/police stations, but no alternative educational areas have been determined. Areas around military/police stations and streets connecting these stations have been widened so much allowing the passage of military vehicles, including tanks. The Yenikapı street with a width of 7-8 m and high intensity of registered monuments, has been widened to 15 m.

The revised plan has been examined by the Diyarbakir branch of the Chambers of Architects and Engineers of Turkey (TMMOB). The report has assessed 17 different violations of urban and conservationist norms. ([http://www.dimod.org.tr/mimarlarodasi/haber\\_detay.asp?id=314](http://www.dimod.org.tr/mimarlarodasi/haber_detay.asp?id=314)) A sample of the criticisms put forth by the TMMOB Diyarbakir branch, is provided below.

Paragraph 3: The changes introduced in the mentioned “Urban Conservation Plan Revision” (KAIPD) are all justified on grounds of security, and thus planning is reduced to an instrument of ‘defence’. This security-centred approach ignores all other considerations and violates the principles of urban planning, the basics of interdisciplinary planning and public benefit.

Paragraph 4:

An examination of the plan revision justification report reveals that the justification consists only of security considerations, and that it takes no account of Suriçi as a World Heritage Site where any interventions to the urban fabric will give rise to irreversible losses. The plan report is therefore ridden with inconsistencies. While in the introduction, the unique values of the city are mentioned, in the following parts measures are proposed for defending the city against its inhabitants, who are first and foremost the creators of those values. In order to build the structures for this purpose, the authentic values of the city are being impaired, and site enlisted at the World Heritage List is being treated in a way totally out of keeping with its universal characteristics.

Paragraph 7:

As “Stated in Article 3.15 of the KAIPD and identified in theplementary development plan...” urban design projects in the planning to be prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization are annexes of this plan. In two articles 3.31.1 and 3.31.2, it is said, first, that “the size, situation and function of buildings outside of the registered parcels may be decided without needing any plan revisions,” and secondly, that “The implementation of all the closed and open spaces designated by the Ministry (CSB) will be according to the Urban Design Project annexed to the plan revision.” Thus, projects which do not even exist at the moment, and have not been through any approval process, are to be considered annexes to this revision plan. This means a totally unsupervised set of projects to be implemented in Sur, a situation totally contrary to any planning principles.

Paragraph 15:

The fact, that no decisions at higher scale in the KAIPD regarding the “Urban Design Projects” have been taken, leads to the impairment of the integrity of the revision plan. Furthermore, it will result to the intervention on the traditional urban structure without to be binded to the KAPID.

Paragraph 16:

In the KAIPD explanatory report, as a justification for the widening of and new streets, it is stated that "streets to allow the passage of vehicles for security and services, fire engines and ambulances are not available.” However, in the Revised Urban Conservation Plan (KAIPD) it is obviously seen that the new streets serve only the "Security Service Areas" foreseen in the plan revision. Moreover, in an environment like Suriçi, with an ancient urban fabric, public services such as firefighting or ambulatory services could very well be met by modern technological innovations; instead, what is being done in the KAIPD decisions is to try to legitimize demolitions clearly in conflict with conservation principles, by putting forward certain public needs.



**Map 6:** Revised Suriçi Urban Conservation Plan from 2012



**Map 7:** Revised Suriçi Urban Conservation Plan; December 2016

## **Revived harmful projects in Suriçi and Tigris Valley**

### **1. Urban renewal and the Tigris Valley Project:**

October 22, 2012 Suriçi has been declared as “area under hazard risk” according to the Law on Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk (numbered with 6306) with a decision of the Turkish Minister Cabinet. By this way, Suriçi was included in the areas to undergo “urban renewal”. In order to provide housing for the residents of the buildings to be demolished as part of this process of urban renewal, it was decided to create a reserve housing area. Studies were undertaken and the Tigris Valley was chosen as the reserve housing area.

However, the fact that the execution of the “urban renewal” plan in Suriçi would harm the Urban Conservation Area and the unique cultural fabric of the city, as well as considerations regarding the UNESCO World Heritage candidacy of Diyarbakir Fortress (city walls) and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape, the actors of the city decided to cancel the Tigris Valley project. The Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality and the Chamber of Architects of Diyarbakir took the designation of the Tigris Valley as a reserve building area to court, and obtained an annulment of the decision. In the same context, the urban renewal project was suspended, thanks to the efforts of the Site Management and various civil societal organizations.

But, in the aftermath of the demolitions and the expropriation of the land, both the urban renewal project and the Tigris Valley Project were once more put into effect. The first stage of the Tigris Valley Project has started at and right next to the historical Ten Arches Bridge, which is part of the World Heritage area. The Project includes the building of a mosque, a car park and restaurants in the buffer zone adjacent to World Heritage area.



**Photo 23:** Work being conducted at the Ten Arches Bridge, part of the Diyarbakir World Heritage Cultural Landscape; March 26, 2017



**Photo 24:** Tigris Valley Project first stage; May 22, 2017

## **2. Construction of new houses**

Reinforced concrete housing, which in complete violation with the historical old city fabric and the traditional Diyarbakir houses, is being built in areas which have been erased. These houses clearly violate norms of the Urban Conservation Plan; the mass volume of the buildings, the dimensions of the courtyards and walls do not fit with the street and parcel sizes. Instead of basalt blocks, which is the traditional building material in the city, thin slabs of basalt are being used to cover the concrete walls. The exterior appearance of the buildings has nothing to do with the traditional street view of Diyarbakir. Moreover, the forced eviction of the inhabitants, the demolition of thousands of houses and the expropriation clearly indicate that the true owners of Sur will never be allowed to return to their homes again. But who, then, will be living in these new houses? It is obvious that the aim is to transform the political and demographic structure.





**Photo 25:** New houses being built in the old city Suriçi



**Photo 26:** In spite of the stipulation by the conservation Plan, that concrete houses with a deceptive thin stone facing are not to be allowed, the picture shows new reinforced concrete houses coated with basaltic slabs.

### **3. The Inner Fortress recreational area project**

In 2000 a project for area of the citadel (Inner Fortress), today element of the World Heritage Site, was approved as a cultural and touristic area. It was planned that in the first stage of the project, the part of the Inner Fortress encircled by walls from the Artuklu (medieval) period would be a museum area and that in the second stage the part encircled by Ottoman walls would be cleared of buildings lacking of quality and turned into an Archaeological Park including the Amida (ancient name of Diyarbakir) Tumulus, with the condition of laying bare (excavating) of constructions and layers under earth. This functionalization of the area according to the plan was included in the UNESCO candidacy folder as

well as was highlighted in the Site Management Plan. What we observe nowadays is that in the area of the second stage of the project all buildings of low quality have been removed and a registered building has been de-registered and then immediately demolished. The cleared space has been designed as a modern park. Meanwhile with heavy equipment excavations have been conducted and many trees with extensive roots have been planted. All of these interventions have the high probability of damaging the archaeological structures under the earth.



**Photo 27:** View at the registered building next to the Ickale Mosque, Inner Castle. After deregistration it has been demolished



**Photo 28:** The modern park in the Inner Fortress. The registered building next to the mosque (see Photo 27) has been removed completely.

## CONCLUSION

Suriçi has been inhabited uninterruptedly for eight millennia and was the center of production and the commercial life of the greater region. It was the place where traditional products have been brought from rural areas and sold as well as being the center of artisanal production of jewelry, copper working, forging and silk weaving. Today it is still one of the most intensive commercial areas in the city. Suriçi is the collective memory of Diyarbakir. In the 1990's, a large number of people fled to Suriçi due to the destruction of numerous Kurdish villages. From 2000 on new attitudes, approaches and an urban life style was started to be established. At the same time the consciousness and interest for the conservation of cultural heritage was on the rise in Suriçi and this reactivated the socio-economic and cultural life. Municipalities, public institutions, NGOs and private entrepreneurs invested in the restoration and functionalization of cultural heritage sites. The awareness for preserving the historical city of Suriçi achieved its peak when the fortress and Hevsel Gardens have been enlisted as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2015.

The Site Management Plan together with the Urban Conservation Plan revised in 2012 have been submitted to UNESCO World Heritage Committee for approval, but they never have been put into practice. We also have doubts that the December 2016 revision of the Urban Conservation Plan, intended to legitimize the damage that has been done to the old city, has ever been submitted to UNESCO.

From the owners of propriety in Suriçi the propriety rights and the decision to choose freely the residency have been taken forcibly. Damage assessment of the registered constructions and area damaged and destroyed as a result of the armed conflict and following demolition have not been conducted based on the principle of participation with no representatives of the people living in Suriçi, scientists, civil society organizations, the Site Management Department and municipal experts. The same approach was practiced for the planning of the affected area and decisions have been taken in a highly centralized manner.

With the latest armed conflict and subsequent demolition, the original street fabric and the integrity of the insula-parcel integrity have been irreparably lost. The forced exodus and the following expropriation decision by the Turkish government, leads to the eradication of the urban memory composed with the accumulation over thousands of years, change of propriety and the change the demographic structure and interrupt the cultural continuity.

### **Urgent Measures necessary for Suriçi**

1. Ground-based and aerial land surveys, with up to date technology, should be conducted in the area of Suriçi, in order to collect reliable data.
2. The “urgent expropriation decision” should be immediately canceled. The several millennia-long and uninterrupted human settlement of Suriçi should be respected and restored, by conserving the demographic structure through ensuring the return of the old city dwellers, who are the current transmitters of the cultural accumulation, and undertaking human-oriented measures to raise the living standards.
3. The implementation of the strategic Site Management Plan, which was designed to conserve the tangible and intangible cultural heritage and approved by UNESCO World Heritage Committee.

4. The Suriçi Urban Conservation Plan adopted in 2012 should be put back into effect. This plan is based on cadastral maps from 1952 and was drawn up with the intention of recovering the original physical structure of Sur, respecting the original street fabric, insula and parcel dimensions, and in this process rehabilitating and transforming, in situ, low-level urban growth, and reducing traffic and other intensity. By conserving the traditional street fabric, insula and parcel dimensions, it will be possible to reconstruct the traditional urban plan which existed since the since Roman period, in the areas which have been totally or partially demolished.

5. Human-oriented rehabilitation plans should be elaborated for the remaining part of Suriçi, rather than any kind of “Urban Renewal Projects.”

6. Strong measures should be undertaken for the re-vitalization of the socio-economic and cultural life of the city.